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224 In the good old days conditions were quite different. Naturally there was occasional hunger when the hunters' luck failed them,[20] but game formed the chief food supply, vegetable dishes being ancillary. If a single hunter failed, a party would encircle a bit of the steppe with fire, leaving a gap for the hunters, who would club or shoot the fugitive beasts so far as they had not yet been overcome by the smoke and heat. Nowadays both the ubiquitous livestock of the Neobrazilians and the smallness of the remaining area bar this technique.

262 136 Normally all mammals rank as edible. The steppes and *galeria* forests of the Rąmkõ'kamekra still harbor the following: four species of deer (*Masama* sp.); the fox (*Canis brasiliensis*); agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti*); paca (*Coelogenys paca*); cavy = pereá (*Cavia* sp.); two species of wild pig (*Dicotyles labiatus, D. torquatus*); two species of anteater (*Myrmecophaga jubata, M. tetradactyla*); four species of armadillo (*Dasypus* sp.); two species of opossum (*Didelphys* sp.); the porcupine (*Coerolabes* sp.); the skunk (*Memphitis suffocans*); steppe rats (*Muridae* ?); bats (*Chiropterus* sp.); very rarely, the coati (*Nasua* sp.); monkeys (*Cebus apella*); small hares (*Sylvilagus brasiliensis*); wildcats (*Felis pardalis*); and pumas (*Felis concolor*). Though the number of these species is fairly considerable, not one of them is at all abundant enough for dependence on it as a constant source of food.

All birds are eaten except the carrion vultures (*Catharistes urubú*, Vieill.; *Carthartes aura*, Linn.); the king vulture (*Gypagus papa*, Linn.); certain *Cuculidae* (*Piaiya* sp., *Crotophaga* sp.), and species beyond consideration because of their tiny bodies, such as the *Trochilidae* and many *Pipridae*.

Most important of the birds eaten is the pampa ostrich (*Rhea macrorhyncha*, Selater). There follow the sariema (*Cariama cristata*, Linn.); such fowls as the jacú (*Penelope* sp.); the aracuã (*Ortalis guttata*, Spix), which is relatively abundant in old plantations; various inambú species (*Tinamus* sp., *Crypturus* sp.); partridges (*Rhynchotus rufescens*, Temm.); wild pigeons (*Columba* sp.; *Leptoptila* sp.); and parrots. Red araras are virtually unattainable here at present, so [237] that the chief material for feathered decoration is lacking, for want of which the Indians in part substitute kerehiefs. Again and again they implored me to bring them arara feathers from the Apinayé, who in this respect are somewhat better off. Aquatic birds are wholly lacking, except for a species of heron (*Tigrisoma* sp.) [857] and a waterfowl (*Aramides* sp.). Small birds are hunted only by boys, who use arrows with a knobbed tip or with a cross of little rods (pl. 16, *c*, *d*).

The Timbira do not eat tailless amphibians and look with contempt upon the Guajajára for eating at least three species. On the other hand, they neither avoid large lizards (*Iguana* sp.; *Tupinambis* sp.) nor crocodiles and nonvenomous snakes. The Rąmkõ'kamekra offered me the flesh of the sucurijú (*Eunectes murinus*), the giboya (Boa constrictor), and the caninana (*Phrynonax sulphureus*). Land tortoises (*Testudo tabulata*) and a small water tortoise (*Emys* sp.?), which is taken with hook and line, are highly prized.

Women, as noted, eat head lice, though these naturally do not rank as food or as a delicacy. The Indians said they did not know themselves why they ate them, seeing that they are tasteless. Possibly it is "by way of punishment"; that was the reason given me among the Kaingang, whom I would see picking ticks off their bodies, crushing them with their teeth, and then expectorating them. Occasionally the Canella also consume the fat, white beetle larvae found in the kernels of palm nuts—when they do not prefer using them as a hair cosmetic. However, they do

[20] Pohl, Reise, 2:200.

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not crave these larvae so passionately as many Guaraní, let alone Kaingang, who fill thick bamboo tubes with them. I have never seen Timbira eating grasshoppers, ants, or any other insects besides those mentioned above.

Weapons.—The principal Timbira weapon is the bow, kuhẽ′ (pl. 15, *b*) nowadays receding with the spread of muzzle-loaders, but still predominantly used even by the Rąmkõ′kamekra, who own probably more firearms than the other steppe Timbira. The bow is of pau d'arco (*Tecoma* sp.), more rarely of piquiá (*Caryocar* sp.), or pau rôxo wood. Its size diminishes with its importance in warfare and hunting. Among the Western Gaviões, who lack guns and still guard their woods with the bow, it attains the enormous length of 254 cm.; the private collection of Estevão de Oliveira contains a specimen. These bows thus rank third for length among the South American types known to me, being surpassed only by the equivalents from the Bakairí of the Xingú headwaters and from the Kaingang of São Paulo. The "Bugre" (Botocudo of Sta. Catharina) bows pronounced as the longest by Krickeberg[28] are thus far inferior, being only 230 cm. long; and so far as my experience goes those of the Sirionó of lower Bolivia, to which some assign the first place, never exceed 216 cm. The maximum measurements among the Eastern Gaviões (Pųkóbye), Krĩkatí, Krahõ′, and Rąmkõ′kamekra) are, respectively: 192, 191, 188, 183 cm.[29]

Common as is a round cross section among the Krahõ′, it is limited to the toy bows of little boys among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, and these may also be elliptical. Otherwise the Timbira—the Kre'pų′mkateye less than the rest—uniformly flatten the string side; a ceremonial Rąmkõ′kamekra specimen has approximately oval cross section.

The tip of the Rąmkõ′kamekra bow, around which they wind the taut end of the string, generally, though not always, has for its support a pad of cordage (pl. 15, *c*). Among the other tribes the tip is slightly set off on the outside. To produce tension they loosen the corded loop from the other end, shorten the string by vigorous twisting, bend the bow with the knee, and push the end again over the rather blunt tip. The bowstring, kuhẽ̃ẽ̃, is of tucum fiber; I have not seen the cotton form ascribed by Snethlage to "the northern tribes."

The hunting arrows of the Timbira are of camayuva cane (*Guadua* sp.) and generally as long as the bow or but slightly shorter (pl. 16, *f*). Solely the Western Gaviões, who require arrows corresponding in length to their gigantic bows, use only canna brava (*Gynerium saccharoides*), obviously because the thickness of the camayuva cane is not proportionate to the requisite length. This tribe tips arrows with huge, two-edged, unserrated bamboo points up to 35 cm. long and 4 cm. wide, which are glued and tied to a wooden foreshaft. Others have a dentate wooden point. Among the other Eastern Timbira I was too late to see arrows with bamboo knives, which are presumably above all for use in warfare. The typical arrow of the Eastern Timbira (like the Apinayé and Šerénte form) altogether lacks a specially mounted point, the end of the camayuva shaft being itself shaped into a point by unilateral beveling. This is the customary hunting arrow of all steppe Timbira, not (as Snethlage states) a mere weapon for practice. The Krĩkatí, Pųkóbye, Kre'pų′mkateye, and Rąmkõ′kamekra have arrows with an inserted wooden foreshaft supporting a flat bone tip, which is put on so that there is a laterally projecting blunt barb (pl. 16, *g*). The last-named people more frequently substitute for the bone point one of iron wire (pl. 16, *h*) or a little barblike rod of hard wood.

[28] In Buschan, Illustrierte Völkerkunde, 283, 284.

[29] Wied-Neuwied, Reise, v. 2, 23, found a "Patachos" bow "8 Fuss 9½ Zoll englisch." *Editor.*

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224 177 *Hunting methods.*—Traps are remarkably rare among the Timbira. The Rąmkõ'kamekra trap doves with an elastic beam, while boys kill them with automatic bow shots set near their houses. Today men limit themselves to spring-guns when killing deer, pacas, agoutis, etc., by an automatic release; formerly they, too, employed bows and arrows. The nooses for snaring dwarf parrots have been mentioned above (pl. 17, *a*, *b*). Among the Krahõ' I saw two deadfalls of the Mundé type current among Tupí tribes.[39] Like the pyramidal bird traps of horizontal sticks occasionally made by boys, they are evidently derived from Neobrazilians.

Except for the above-mentioned surrounding drive with the aid of fire, the Indians—even when setting out in considerable parties—hunt only singly or in pairs, whether stalking the game or lying in wait at a fixed station. Like the 231 Apinayé, the Eastern Timbira rarely hunt with their dogs, numerous as these are; 174 since their masters do not know how to train them they are of little use in the chase. 136 This slight utilization of the dog supports its post-Columbian derivation. However, it certainly reached the Timbira soon after the discovery, probably through intermediary tribes between them and the coast, for they do not consider the dog an item obtained from civilized people. The Krẽyé of Bacabal and the Rąmkõ'kamekra concur in the view that they obtained dogs by stealing and raising the pups of wild dogs; presumably they have in mind the Brazilian "forest dog" (*Speothos venaticus*). However, the Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, and Krẽyé of Bacabal call the species cą (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]), while the Apą'nyekra, Kénkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and the Põrekamekra equivalent is rop (jaguar), which corresponds to Apinayé, Northern and Southern Kayapó practice.

224 Deer are most commonly hunted from a fixed station in the branches of a tree above the feeding ground of the quarry when in search of fallen blossoms or fruit. The hunter sits on a few transverse poles, waiting for his victim invariably at night. The same method is extended to pacas and agoutis.

The report of a herd of wild pigs at once sets all the hunters of the village to work. They try to sneak up from behind or, for once using their dogs, drive the pigs to bay so that they can be shot or clubbed to death. The only lance I ever saw [411] among the Timbira I obtained from the Krĩkatí, who used it for hunting pigs; it was a simple pole pointed at one end.

Anteaters, which are easily overtaken in running, are knocked down with clubs. The Timbira are not repelled overmuch by the fantastic stench of the skunk. Even after it is roasted, it retains a disagreeable odor, despite the tenderness and fatness of the flesh, but this is expressing my personal reaction, not that of the Timbira. An armadillo caught on the steppe before it is able to escape into its burrow is killed, as noted by Snethlage, by crushing its skull with a club or any hard object. But if the beast manages to flee into its burrow, it must be dug out at the expense of much labor, which, however, no Timbira begrudges, even if he is obliged to keep digging till he himself vanishes in the pit, as I have actually witnessed. None of these Indians could bring himself to pass an armadillo burrow without probing whether the animal is inside; and if that is ascertained, the digging starts at once, commonly with nothing but a stick hastily hacked into shape.

The stalker of a pampa ostrich masks himself with a disguise of palm grass hanging downward from the forehead and neck; or the hunter approaches after quickly painting himself with black stripes, the pigment being provided by the omnipresent charcoal remaining from steppe fires. During the dry season he lies in wait in a special hut, kwęk, near the watering place of the ostriches. The sariema is easily

[39] Nordenskiöld, Ethnography, 3:67, fig. 14.